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ARTES SCIENTIA VERITAS

ON THE FOMORIANS AND THE NORSEMEN

BY

DUALD MAC FIRBIS

THE ORIGINAL IRISH TEXT,

EDITED, WITH

TRANSLATION AND NOTES

BY

ALEXANDER BUGGE
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PUBLISHED FOR
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The tract on the Fomorians and the Lochlannachs (i. e. Norsemen) forms part of the »Book of Pedigrees« *(Leabhar Genealach)*, a work compiled by the Irish historian and antiquary Duald Mac Firbis *(Dubhaltach Mac Fhirbhisigh)*, »the last of a long line of historians and chroniclers of Lecan *Mic Fhirbhisigh*, in the barony of *Tir-Fhiachradh*, or Tireragh, in the county of Sligo.«[1] Duald Mac Firbis who is one of the foremost names of the Irish Renaissance, belonged to an ancient family, of which many members have been distinguished by literary achievements. The Great Book of Lecan, now in the Royal Irish Academy, Dublin, was compiled in the year 1416 by Gilla Isa Mór, the direct ancestor of Duald Mac Firbis, and the Yellow Book of Lecan, now in the library of Trinity College, Dublin, was written in the year 1391 by Donogh Mac Firbis.[2] Duald Mac Firbis was born in the latter part of the 16th century. He was a young man about the year 1595, and he was unfortunately murdered at Dunflin, in the county of Sligo, in 1670. His most important work is »The Book of Pedigrees«. This large and comprehensive volume of the pedigrees of nearly all the most important ancient Irish and Anglo-Norman families was compiled in the year 1650. Mac Firbis himself says in the preface to his work: »The branches of relationship and genealogical ramifications of every colony that took possession of Erin, traced from this time up to Adam (excepting only those of the Fomorians, Lochlannachs, and Saxon-Galls, of whom we however treat as they have settled in our country), together with a sanctilogium and a catalogue of the kings of Erin; and finally, an index, which comprises, in alphabetical order, the surnames, and the remarkable places

[1]) E. O'Curry, MS. materials of Irish History, p. 120. [2]) MS. Materials, p. 125.

mentioned in this book, which was compiled by Duald Mac Firbis of Lecan, 1650.« [1])

The original manuscript of the »Book of Pedigrees« is in the possession of the Earl of Roden. But the Royal Irish Academy, Dublin, possesses an excellent fac-simile copy, made in the year 1836 by the late E. O'Curry whose services to Irish history and literature cannot be too highly appreciated. I have not seen the original manuscript, but during my stay in Dublin, the autumn and winter 1901—1902, I was able to make use of used O'Curry's copy. I am much indebted to the officials of the Academy for kind assistance given me while studying the manuscripts under their charge.

The tract on the Fomorians and Lochlannachs forms the 9th book of Mac Firbis's work, and its pages are numbered p. 768—777, these figures, no doubt, referring to the numbering of the pages of the original MS., for in O'Curry's own copy the whole tract only occupies little more than five pages. Mac Firbis's tract consists of two distinct parts. In the first part he gives a short review of the history of the Norsemen in Ireland; in the second he deals with the so called Fomorians and with the Irish families who are descended from the Norsemen, and lastly he gives the pedigrees of the Mac Leods and of the Mac Cabes. Most of what Mac Firbis tells us in the first part of his treatise is also found in the annals, and especially it bears a strong resemblance to the beginning of »The War of the Gaedhil with the Gaill« (*Cogadh Gaedhil re Gallaibh*), edited by the late Dr. Todd. [2]) In fact, at first sight one would think that Mac Firbis had only given a short summary of this famous work. But a closer inspection of the facts will show that Mac Firbis gives some references, which are not to be found elsewhere. I refer to the two lists of Viking chieftains. »The War of the Gaedhil with the Gaill« contains two similar lists, one in chapter XXXVI (about the year 930), and the other in ch. CXVII (an enumeration of chieftains killed in the battle of Clontarf in 1014). But the names which Mac Firbis gives, are not exactly the same as those found in »The War of the Gaedhil with the Gaill«; they have more resemblance to the list given in the »Annals of Clonmacnois« (a° 830, p. 133). And neither of these works mention

[1]) MS. Materials, pp. 121 and 541. [2]) Rerum Britannicarum medii ævi scriptores, London 1869.

in what parts of Ireland the above mentioned Vikings plundered and settled down. Mac Firbis is the only author who gives information about this. In the second part of his work he also gives some details which are not found elsewhere, e. g. the fact that Amhlaibh of PortLairge (i. e. Waterford) was present in the battle of Clontarf, and the epithets »Magnus of the swift ship«, and »Ivar of the judgments«. This shows that Mac Firbis has made use of some Manuscripts now lost. He himself quotes the »Great Book of Lecan of Mac Firbis«, compiled in the year 1416 by Gilla Isa Mór Mac Firbis of Lecan Mic Fhirbisigh. The original MS. of this work still exists, in the Library of the Royal Irish Academy, in Dublin, but it contains nothing relating to the history of the Norsemen in Ireland. O'Curry, who has drawn attention to this curious fact, in his Academy Catalogue (p. 832), preserved in the Royal Irish Academy in Dublin, says that Mac Firbis in his »Book of Pedigrees« tells us »that the pedigrees and wars and battles of the Danes in Ireland are to be found in the Great Book of Lecan Mac Firbis, but of these tracts not a vestige remains in this book«. This shows that some parts of the Great Book of Lecan are now lost. The lost portion has no doubt contained a tract corresponding to the beginning of the »War of the Gaedhil with the Gaill«, but in a somewhat different and, I think, more original form than does O'Clerys copy, corresponding to the defective copy in the Book of Leinster.[1]) This I conclude from the fact that Mac Firbis gives some names in a better form. He writes f. i. *Toirberd dubh*, while »The War of the Gaedhil with the Gaill« has the corrupt *Toirberdach* (ch. XXXVI). Besides, Mac Firbis has probably used some other now lost sources. The »War of the Gaedhil with the Gaill« takes us down to the battle of Clontarf; but Mac Firbis must also have known something of the later history of the Norsemen in Ireland. He tells us that »Magnus of the swift ship, son of the king of Lochlann« *(Maghnus na loinge luaithe mac righ Lochlann)*, and his descendants in Ireland are mentioned in the Great Book of Lecan. O'Donovan thinks that this Magnus is the same as Magnus, son of Harold, king of Man, who is mentioned by the Four Masters A. D 972. »The War of the Gaedhil with the Gaill« men-

[1]) Printed at the end of the »War of the Gaedhil with the Gaill«.

tions (ch. LIII and LIIII) another Magnus, of Limerick (*Manus Lumnig*, also called *Maghnas Berna*), who was killed in the year 968. Both these chieftains were, however, comparatively obscure persons, and neither of them could be called »son of the king of Norway (Lochlann)«. But there was another, more famous, Magnus, viz. the Norwegian king Magnus Bareleg, who was killed in Ulster in the year 1103. This Magnus enjoyed a great fame, especially in Ireland. On his expeditions to the British Islands, he conquered the Hebrides and Anglesey, and was acknowledged by the men of Dublin as their king. It once looked as if he was going to conquer all Ireland. The Manx Chronichle[1]) tells us that Magnus sent his shoes to the high-king of Erin, Muichertach, ordering him to wear them on his shoulders on Christmas Day in the precence of his ambassadors, as a token of submission, and that Muirchertach obeyed this command. Ordericus Vitalis even says that king Magnus was married to a daughter of king Muirchertach, but that afterwards he sent her back (Ordericus Vitalis, ed. Duchesne, p. 767). With the death of Magnus, however, the Norwegian danger passed away. King Magnus very early became celebrated in Irish poetry and tales. In the ancient vellum MS. »Leabhar Breac« there is a stanza where he is called »Magnus of the fearful battles« *(Magnus ná tinm troit).*[2]) About 1500 he already has become a hero of the Ossianic cycle. One of the tales of a MS. from about 1600 describes an expedition of Finn and his men to Lochlann or Norway, where they distroyed the kingdom of »Magnus the great«.[3]) Poems from the 17th and 18th centuries sing about Magnus »king of Norway« or »king of Bergen«, as he is also called, his expeditions to Ireland, and his battles with Finn and the Fianna.[4])

On the other hand, Magnus has himself made a still existing love-poem on an Irish girl, and one of his sons, the later king Harald Gille, was born in Ireland or in the Hebrides by an Irish mother. This seems to prove that Magnus of the swift ship is identical with the Norwegian king Mag-

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[1]) A. D. 1098. The Norwegian historian, P. A. Munch, has proved that the actual date was 1101. [2]) Leabhar Breac; photolith. ed., p. 256, in the margin. [3]) A. Bugge, Vikingerne, p. 166. [4]) Miss Brook, Reliques of Irish Poetry (Dublin 1789); A. Bugge, Contributions to the History of the Norsemen in Ireland II (Christiania Videnskabsselskabs Skrifter, 1900).

nus Bareleg. This king is also mentioned in the Annals of the Four Masters, the Annals of Ulster etc.; but none of them calls him »Magnus of the swift ship«. This epithet must, however, be ancient, because it is also found in a pedigree of the Mac Leods in a MS. in the Advocates Library in Edinburgh, from ca. 1550.[1]) The Ossianic poem, printed by Miss Brooke gives him similar epithets, f. i. *Maghnus . . . . . righ Lochlainn na long m-breac* (»Magnus, king of Norway, of the spotted ships«), and »the Great Magnus of the successfull ships«. The expression »Magnus of the swift ship« seems to belong to a poem or to a heroic tale. The Annals and Sagas such as »The War of the Gaedhil with the Gaill« do not use similar expressions. I therefore conclude that Mac Firbis has known a now lost poem or a tale on Magnus Bareleg, king of Norway. The Ossianic poems about him must certainly be based on a more ancient historic poem. But Mac Firbis must have used other sources than the Great Book of Lecan. At the end of his tract on the Fomorians and Lochlannachs, he quotes »Another account«, and »A tract of an old book«. These tracts seem to have contained pedigrees of Irish and Scotch families, e. g. of the Mac Leods. Mac Firbis's treatise thus contains a great deal of historical interest, giving us details which we should not else have known. But he is not quite to be relied upon. He confounds the mythical Fomorians and the historical Lochlannachs or Norsemen, and seems to think that the Fomorians were Scandinavian searobbers. Professor Zimmer has proved[2]) that *fomor* originally signifies »a giant«. But during the Viking-Ages the conception of a »Fomor« was greatly altered and influenced by tales of the Scandinavian searobbers, and especially of the wild *berserkir*. This explains that there are many Norwegian and Danish elements in the Fomorian tales. Thus the story in »The War of the Gaedhil with the Gaill« about the tyranny of the Norsemen in Ireland (ch. XL) has passed into a tale about the Fomorians at the time of king Nuada of the Silver Hand, where it is said, that the Fomorians came from Lochlann. This explains, why Mac Firbis confounds the Fomorians and the Norsemen. The pedigree of the Mac

[1]) See the notes at the end of this paper. [2]) Ueber die frühesten Berührungen der Iren mit den Nordgermanen, p. 34. [3]) A. Bugge, Contributions, II p. 15 f.

Leods, to which I shall come back in the notes, seems to be fictitious, and not historical. But that does not much diminish the real value of the tract of Mac Firbis.

After having finished my transcript and translation I happened to learn that the latter part of it (beginning with *Tractadh cumair*) has already been edited by the late Dr. O' Donovan, in »The Ulster Journal of Archæology« (vol. 9, pp. 95—105, Belfast 1861). But as this journal is little known outside Ireland, I have still deemed it right to publish the whole tract on the Fomorians and Norsemen, though I fully acknowledge that my own knowledge of Irish is infinitely inferior to that of the late Dr. O' Donovan. I may also mention that O' Donovan's notes are very meagre, and that he makes many mistakes as to the history of the Vikings.

For kind assistance during my work I am especially indebted to my friend professor Kuno Meyer, of the University of Liverpool, who has shown me the great kindness to read my transcript and translation, and to furnish me with much valuable information.

Kristiania, 28 Dec. 1904.

Alexander Bugge.

Do Fhomhorchuibh agus do Lochlannachuibh. [1])

Formoraigh g*air*ther dona hechtranchuibh (go hair*idh*e) batt*ar* ag buaid*re*adh Erenn i remes Cloin*n*e Nemhidh, 7 fos gairther Fomhoruigh, 7 Lochlan*n*uigh dona hechtranchuibh do tairingett*ar* Firbolg go cath Muighe Tuiredh tuaidh in-aighidh Tuath De Danan*n*, gidhedh ní horra sin laibheoram an*n*so anois, acht ar na Lochlannchuibh as dedhencha bad*ar* in Erin*n*, m*ar* so. Gabhail no remhes dochraide Lochlan*n* *ar* Erin*n*, edhon re ré, 12 righ do Rioghuibh (Gaoidhel*acha*) Temrach, .i.: 1. Aodh Oirdn*idh*e m*ac* Nell F*ra*saigh, 2. *Con*cabh*ar* mac Donnchadha, 3. Niall Caillne, 4. Maolsechlainn m*ac* Maoilruanaidh, 5. Aodh Finnliath, 6. Flann Sion*na* mac Maoil(s)echluin*n*, 7. Niall Glundubh, 8. Donnchadh m*ac* Floin*n* Sion*n*a, 9. *Con*ghalach m*ac* Maoilmith*igh*, 10. Domnall m*ac* Muirchertaigh, 11. Maoilsechl*ann* mór m*ac* Domhnaill, 7 12. Brian Borumha mac Cin*n*édigh. [2]) Remes Aodha Oirdnidhe ro thionnsgnatt*ar* Goill Lochlann gabhail Erenn ar t*us* (tuig n*a* Goill si). Tangatt*ar* loinges i cCam*us* h*ua* fFathaidh 160 long a líon, loisgid 7 airgid inis Labhrainne 7 Dairinis. Torc*rat*t*ar* i ccath re hEóghanacht locha Lén 476 f*er* do Lochlannuibh. [3])

Tangatt*ar* cuig loingis ria *) Tuirges in-Erin*n*, 7 marbth*ar* moran diobh, 7 m*ar*bhaid sin cach. Tainig loinges mór le Tuirges, 7 ro ghabh righe Gall Eren*n*, 7 ro hindredh leo tuaisg*er*t Eren*n* ar t*us*, 7 sgaoilid fa Erinn iaro*m*, 7 cuirid loinges *ar* lochaibh Eren*n*. Gabhuis Tuirges for loch Ribh, 7 áirgid cealla ardnao*mh* Eren*n* uile, 7 as ar altoir Cluana m*ic* Nois do bheredh Otta ben Thuirghes uirigheall do gach

*) Above the line is written: *le*.

æ. Baoi Tuirges in-abdaine in-Ardmacha secht mbliadhna. Gabthar Tuirges le Maoileachlann, 7 ro bhaidh é i loch Uair.[4] Ro ghabh Iomhar i Luimneach, Duibhg*enn* i tTuadmum(h)uin, Suaincenn in-Ibh-Conuill, Grifin i cCiaraighe, Aralt fion*n* in-Ibh Eathach, Crioslac*h* i bPortlairge, Alb*ar*d ruadh a Sliabh Ardach*aidh*, Toirberd dubh in-Aine Cliach. Tor, 7 Crioslac*h*, 7 Usban, 7 Gotmann, 7 Allgot i gConnachtaibh. Turcuill Treabann, 7 Cos*air* Crolian, Oitin 7 Buidbin, 7 Bernin, 7 an inghean ruadh in-Ultaibh. Tormin mac Celi i tTír Eoghuin, Eogan Barun, 7 Roiberd miolún, Ualtair ainglis, 7 Goisilin i Laignibh, 7 ro chuirsiod Gaoidhil 16 catha ríu, 7 as dirimh ar marbhadh do chechtar n-æ.[5] Tanghatt*ar* 65 long go Duibhlinn. Tanghatt*ar* tola murbhrucht iaro*m* go hErin*n* go raibhe loinges g*ach*a airde in*n*te.[6] Tanaig 60 long do Normain*n*ibh for Boin, 7 loinges for abhuin*n* Life.[7]

Tangatt*ar* Dubhlochlan*n*uigh go hErin*n*, 7 tugsad cath d'Fion*n*lochlan*n*acuibh, 7 ro marbhadh mile diebh.[8] Ta*in*ig loinges i cCiarr*aigh*e Luachra, 7 ro airgsiod Caisiol na Riogh re lin[n] Fedhlim*idh* mic Criomthuin*n* 7 brisid Gaoidhil cuig catha orra.[9] Tainig Amhlaoibh Rí Lochland go hErin*n* gur dhiothaigh mórán.[10] Tainig Oisill m*ac* riogh Lochland, 7 torch*air* cona muint*er* 500. Tug Aodh Finnliath cath dhoibh.[11] Airgth*er* Laighin, Mumhain, 7 *Con*nachta le Bairri*n*t, 7 le macuibh Amhlaoibh, con*ar* fagaibhsiod uaimh gan tochuilt, 7 tocrattar fen, gidedh.[12] Iond*ar*buid Fin*n*gente na Duibhgente a hErin*n* in-Albain.[13] Baoi cumsanadh ag Erinn tr*i*ocha *) bliadhain o**) remes Maoileachlainn m*ei*c Maoilr*uanaidh*, go***) remhes Nell Glunduibh, 7 ro haithlionadh Erinn do loingsibh Gall.[14] Tainig loinges cloin*n*e Iomhair go Athcliath, 7 br*ist*er cath *ar* Flan*n* m*ac* Maoilechl*ainn*, 7 marbth*ar* Sitr*i*c Rí Gall, 7 téd Lochlánduigh a hErin*n* in-Albain le Sitr*i*c m*ac* Iomh*air*.[15] Tani*c* loinges le Raghnall ua hIomhair, 7 le Oitir iarla, 7 marbthar i ccath le hAodh Finnliath, 7 900 ar aon ríu do Fin*n*gentibh.[16] Loinges fá dho le Sitric ua hIomair, 7 le cloin*n* Iom*air* cena; gabuid ar egín in-Duibhlin*n* Atha Cliath, 7 do gníd forbuisi an*n*, 7 tuitis Niall Glundubh a gcath re Gallaibh Áth*a* Cliath.[17] Brisis Donnchadh mac Maoilseachluinn ar Lochland*aibh*, 7 ní mó na sgeolang do chuaidh as

*) Above is written: *50.* **) Above is written: *idir.* ***) Above is written: *is.*

diobh.[18]) Tainig Oitir dubh *iar*la lucht 100 long go PortLairge do tobhach cios a riogh.[19]) Liont*ar* Ere do loingsibh Gall, .i. loinges Bir*n*, loinges Oduin*n*, loi*nges* Gr*i*si*n*, loi*nges* Suatg*air*, loi*nges* Lagmain*n*, loi*nges* Erbailbh, loi*nges* Sit*ric*, loi*nges* Buidne, loinges B*e*rnin, loi*nges* na cCriosl*ach*, loi*nges* Toirberd ruaidh, loi*nges* Snimin, loi*nges* Suainin, loi*nges* Baruin, loi*nges* Mil*edh*Bua, loi*nges* na hingine ruaidhe, as nemni g*a*ch olc da bfuair Ere go sin, u*air* sgaoilid fa Erin*n*, 7 gnid cath*r*acha, 7 cais*le*, 7 ní thugsad cadh*us* do aon, 7 do marbhdaois a righ, 7 do dhaordaois tar muir a rioghna, 7 a romhna.[20]) Long*as* dá ná baoi samhuil riamh le hIomhair mór ua hIomhair airdrigh Gall, 7 le a tri macuib .i. Duibg*enn*, Cuall*aidh*, 7 Aralt, 7 gabuid inis Sibthon*n* *ar* cuan Luimnigh, 7 gabhuis gell Gall.[21]) Ord*aighi*d Gaill Rí *ar* gach tír, taoisioch *ar* gach tuath, ab *ar* g*a*ch cill, Maor *ar* gach baile, Suaitrech gach tighe, co-nach raibhe a chomus fén ag neach d'fearuib Erenn, o tha díne na cerce gus an c*ead* loilg*aigh*, conar lamhsad dhiograis ná dethide do thabhairt do ath*air* na do mháth*air*, do Eps*cob* na do Ollamh, na do an*m*charuid, na do lucht tin*n*is na treabhláide na do naoidhin énoidhche, gen go beth acht enbhó ag nech d'f*er*uibh Eren*n*, rob egin a henbruithe do thabhairt do t-Shersenach in oidhche nach bfaghthaoi bain*n*e uaithe, 7 uinge óir, nó airgid no fhiondruine isin chios riogh gacha bliadhna, 7 an duine ag nach beth a acmoing aige, a bheth fén i ndaoire, no an tsrón do bhén dé.[22])

Trachtadh cumair ar araile dFómhorchaibh, 7 do Loch-lannchuibh badar ath*aidh* imchiana ag aidhmilledh Eren*n*. Fior chena g*ur* chraobhsgaoilsiom gach cinedh dar gremuigh Ere iar n-urd a ngabhal go so; anois luaidhem lucht buaidh-eartha na Banba Fomoraigh, 7 Lochlonnaigh, iar tteglomuibh Saine fa sech, nach saigh suas glun *ar* ghlun leo go hÁdhamh m*ar* gabhaid Gaoidhil, Tuatha Dé [Danann], Firbolg, Nemhid, Parthalón, *et*c.[23]), do aitigh Ére go hordaighthe da ffaghthar go hordaighthe an genelaigh; Fomhoruigh, *immorro*, 7 Loch-lonnuigh, amhluidh do bhidís[s]ithe re foghlughadh na Fódla[24]) cuice, 7 uaithe ag breth gacha ffedis da lomarthuibh leó, ar modh nach ffuairsiod na Seanchaidh a Seanchus m*ar* chách go comhn*aidh*thech isin chrích. Tairis isin cuirfem anmanna aroile dob' oirderca diob siosana a Sleachtaibh Saine. Fómór-aigh t*ra* as iad ceudus do chuir coinbhliocht ar an chrich in-

aimsir Nemidh, 7 a chlainne; acht ge tug Partolan cath do Ciogal ngriccenchosach i Sleamhnuibh Muighe Ithe (mar as lér ag laphra ar Phártolan fen) leth. 35.[25]) As iad Fomóraigh aderther sun*n* .i. loingsigh an mhara do thigdis do chosnamh na criche, 7 nach fes creud dob adhb*ar* aca acht anfhlaithes do fhurail *ar* egin ar Erinn. Gann 7 Sengann dá righ Fómhoire, Conann m*ac* Faobhair 7 Morc (Morc m*ac* Deala) daoine dob oirderca d'Fomhoiribh isin aimsiri sin Nemhidh 7 a chlainne, ní fhághmaoid genelach riamh na iarsna Fomhóiribh ud, u*air* do diobhuidh uile la Nemhidh cona chloinn mar do raidhsiom ag toghail túir Conaing, leath. 38. 39. 40.[26])

Mar sin t*ra* gach drong do ttainig do iondradh Érenn. Amhluidh sin ní fhághmaoid gablughad genelach aca dob ionairmhe; ba diobh sin Balair bailcbémnech ba hardcumhachtach d'Fomoiribh re linn Tuaith De Danann, gomad ris an mBalar sin torcair Nuadha *air*gedlámh Rí Eren*n* do Thuaith De Danann (i ccath Muighe Tuiredh na fFomhor*ach*).[27]) Ger mhór ainneart, 7 gér minic buaidhredh eachtairchinel (dá ngoirthi Fomóruigh. 7 Lochlonnuigh) mar súd ar Erin*n*, ní hairmech g*ur* grennuighdar innte go hiarmartach[28]); u*air* is na haimsiribh sin tigdis Lochlonnuigh no Dan*air* no Danm*air*gigh[29]) go ccobhlaigibh mora mionca do mílledh na ríoghacht*aigh* gor rugsad re Sealad a somhaoine, fa deoig gur díochuir Brian Boruimhe*), 7 araile d'uaislibh Eren*n* iad. Tairis sin do ansad iomad da n-iardraighibh da n-és in-Erinn o sin mar tá a sleachtaibh senlebhar; mar so ader sliocht lebhair airidhe. Gibe lé nab ail craobhsgaoiledh 7 genelach slechta Sin Iomhair na mbreath[30]) d'fághail**), agus Fion*n*lochlan*n*, 7 Dubhlochlan*n*, 7 cath Muighe na Berbhi[31]) 7 Maghn*us* na loinge luaithe mac righ Lochlonn[32]) do ghebthar a ffios mar so a lebhar mor Leacain Mec Fhirbhisigh, ag*us* don chuid táinig in-Erin*n* .i. clan*n*a Píi na n-oileun[33]), 7 clan*n* Chápa[34]), 7 Clan*n* Chuilin[35]), agus Amhlaoibh Pu*ir*tLairge ro baoi i ccath Chluana Tharbh.[36]) Sitrioc mac Gluin iarain*n*[37]), 7 Amhlaoibh Cuaran ar

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*) Above the line is written: *Maoïleachluinn*, and in the margin is written: Brian Boruimhe is changed to Maoileachluinn by a more recent writer than Mc Firbis. IOD (i. e. John O' Donovan).

**) In the margin is written: *Craobhsgaoiledh Lochlannach.*

a ffuil Sliocht 7 forgla a ffuil do chlannuibh cennaighed a mbaile Atha Cliath a niu as ar shliocht an Amhlaoibh Cuarain sin ataid 7 ar Sliocht Saidhbhe inghene Briain Boruime ba ben do an tan tugadh cath Chluana Tarbh.[38]) Domhnall mac Émhin mec Caindigh mormhaoir Mair do sliocht Sin-Iomhair esidhe agus do chlannaibh Leóid na hAra dho, 7 tainig do ionnsaighidh Bhriain Boraimhe do chosnamh Erenn in aghaid Ghall luireach[39]), ionnus go bfuil Sliocht an Amhlaoibh Cuaran sin i mbaile Átha Cliath ag cur in aghaidh Gaoidhel Eren*n* 7 aroile.

Genelach Mec Leóid:[40])

Alasdrann
M Giolla Coluim
M Tormoid
M Ruaidhrigh
M Nell
M Giolla *Chriost*
M Tormoid
M *Con*saitin
M Loch*lainn* ledusaigh
M Lo*air*n loingsigh
M Duilbh locha Ab*r*oin
M Ionduilbh insi hOrc
M Sgaindlain Scoinde m*ei*c Amhl*aoibh*
M Iomhair Cairthe Sgarloide
M Ailpin
M Maoilcoluim Ceannmhoir[41])
M Comhgaill m*ei*c Siog*r*aid[42]) m*ei*c Lo*air*n
M Bróin Berbe
M Leóid ó clanna Leoid
M Lara*) 7 as í tainig a síoth broghaibh a riocht lára ionnus go rug triar mac ar a ffuil sliocht[43])
M Artúir[44])
M Balair[45])
M Fearccusa
M Forguill c*r*ice na fuardhachta
M Naoi m*ei*c Duilbh
M Iolduilbh m*ei*c Al*a*x*andair*
M Ned a quo ui Ned
M Monuigh móir ó rait*er* dún Monaigh
M Balbuaid innsi Tile[46])
M Gioda
M Fomhra
M Magnuis na loinge luaithe
M Arailt[47])
M Asmaint[48])
M Sin-Iomh*air* mhóir na mbreath ó ffuilid Siol SinIomhair in-Albain 7 in-Erinn 7 i Lochlonnuibh.[49])

*) O' Donovan reads *fri Lara;* but the orig. MS. has *M.*

Clann Chába:[50])
Ruaidhri mac Magnuis meic
Donnchaidh meic Enrigh
M Giolla Chriost meic Flaith-
beartaigh meic Giolla-
Chriost coirrsleaguigh
M Alaxandair Arann meic
Tormoid renabarthi mac
Cába
M Constaintin caom insi
Breatan meic Lochlainn.

Sliocht ele ader, Murmor Catt[51]), clann Orca[52]), clann Cruiner[53] 7 clann Thórcaduil[54]) in-Albain Lochlannaigh iad.

Ader Sliocht sin leabhair mar so, ar Sliocht Greguis[55]) mac Gomer meic Iafeth atá an Gallia .i. Lochlannaigh.[56])

On the Fomorians and the Lochlannachs.

Fomorians is the name given to those Foreigners (especially) who were disturbing Erin at the time of the children of Nemhedh. The name of Fomorians and Lochlannachs is further given to those foreigners whom the Firbolg brought over to the battle of Magh Tuiredh in the north against the Tuatha De Danann; though it is not of these we shall speak here now, but of the later Lochlannachs (i. e. Norsemen), who were in Erinn, thus: There reigned at the time of the oppression of Lochlann on Erinn, namely at the time, 12 kings of the Irish kings of Tara, viz.: 1. Aodh Oirdnidhe, son of Niall Frasac, 2. Conchubhar, son of Donnchadh, 3. Niall Caillne, 4. Maoilsechlainn, son of Maoilruanadh, 5. Aodh Finnliath, 6. Flann Sionna, son of Maoilsechlainn, 7. Niall Glundubh, 8. Donnchadh, son of Flann Sionna, 9. Conghalach, son of Maoilmitigh, 10. Domhnall, son of Muirchertach, 11. Maoilsechlainn the great, son of Domhnall, and 12. Brian Borumha, son of Cinnédigh.

At the time of Aodh Oirdnidhe the foreigners of Lochlann first began to conquer Erinn (viz., these foreigners). There came a fleet into Camus Ó Fathaidh, 160 ships in number, and they burned and plundered Inis Labhrainne and Dairinis. There fell in battle with the Eoghanachts of Loch Lén 476 men of the Lochlannachs. Five ships came with Tuirges to Erin, and they slew a multitude of them, and they on their side slew all. A great fleet came with Tuirges, and he assumed the kingdom over the foreigners of Erin, and the north of Erin was plundered by them for the first time, and they afterwards spread themselves over Erin, and they sent a fleet upon the lakes of Erin. Tuirges

entered Loch Ribh, and they plundered the churches of the high saints of all Erin, and it is upon the altar of Clonmacnois that Otta the wife of Tuirges used to give answers to every one. Tuirges was seven years in the abbacy of Armagh. Tuirges was taken prisoner by Maoilsechlainn, and he was drowned in Loch Uair. Iomhar settled in Limerick, Duibhgenn in Thomond, Suainceann in Ui Conaill, Grifin in Ciarraighe, Aralt the fair in Ui Eathach, Crioslach in Port Lairge, Albard the red in Sliabh Ardachadh, Toirbeard the dark in Aine-Cliach; Tor, and Crioslach, and Usban, and Gotmann, and Allgot in Connaught; Turcuill Treabann, and Cosair Crolian, Oitin, and Buidbin, and Bernin, and the Red Maiden in Ulster; Tormin son of Cele in Tir Eoghain; Eogan Barun, and Roiberd Miolun, Ualtair Ainglis, and Goisilin in Leinster, and the Irishmen fought 16 battles against them, and great was the number that was killed on both sides. There came 65 ships to Dublin. After this there came seacast floods into Erin, so that there was a fleet in every point of it. There came 60 ships of Norwegians and entered the Boyne, and a fleet entered the river Liffey. The Dark Lochlannaehs came to Erinn, and they gave battle to the Fair Lochlannachs, and a thousand of them were killed. There came a fleet into Ciarraighe Luachra, and they plundered Cashel of the Kings at the time of Fedhlimidh son of Criomthann, and the Irish won five battles over them. Amhlaoibh, King of Lochlann, came to Erin, so that he destroyed a multitude. Oissil, son of the king of Lochlann, came, and 500 of his people were killed together with him. Aodh Finnliath gave battle to them. Leinster, Munster, and Connaught were plundered by Bairrint, and by the son of Amhlaoibh, so that they did not leave a cave unsearched, and they fell themselves, nevertheless. The Fair Gentiles drove the Dark Gentiles out of Erin to Alba. Erin had rest for thirty (50) years, from (between) the time of Maoil(s)eachlainn son of Maoilrunadh to (and) the time of Niall Glundubh, and Erin was filled with the fleets of the foreigners. A fleet of the children of Iomhar came to AthCliath, and they won a battle over Flann son of Maoilsechlainn, and Sitric, king of the foreigners, was killed, and the Lochlannachs went from Erin to Alba with Sitric, son of Iomhar. There came a fleet under Raghnall, grandson of Iomhar, and under Oitir the earl,

and they were slain in a battle against Aodh Finnliath, and 900 of the Fair Gentiles together with them. A fleet twice (as large) came under Sitric, grandson of Iomhar, and the children of the same Iomhar; they forcibly landed at Dublin of Ath Cliath and besieged it, and Niall Glundubh fell in a battle against the foreigners of Ath Cliath. Donnchadh, son of Maoilseachlainn, won a victory over the Lochlannachs, and not more than a man of them escaped who might tell the news. Oitir the black, the earl, came with a fleet of 100 ships to Port-Lairge, to collect the tribute of their kings. Erin was filled with the fleets of the foreigners, viz. the fleet of Birn, the fleet of Odunn, the fleet of Grisin, the fleet of Suatgair, the fleet of Lagmann, the fleet of Erbalbh, the fleet of Sitric, the fleet of Buidne, the fleet of Bernin, the fleet of the Crioslachs, the fleet of Toirberd the red, the fleet of Snimin, the fleet of Suainin, the fleet of Barun, the fleet of Miledh Bua, the fleet of the Red Maiden, and all the evils that Erin had suffered until then were as nothing (in comparison); for they spread over Erin, and they built cities and fortresses, and they did not give respect to anybody, and they killed its kings, and they used to keep its queens and its noble ladies in bondage beyond the sea. A fleet, the like of which had never before been seen, came with Iomhar the great, grandson of Iomhar, chief king of the Foreigners, and with his three sons, viz. Duibhgenn, Cuallaidh, and Aralt, and they took Inis Sibthonn, in the harbour of Limerick, and they took hostages from the foreigners. The foreigners appointed a king over every territory, a chief over every tribe, an abbot over every church, a bailiff over every village, a soldier in every house, so that no Irishman had in his power, from the brood of a hen to the first milchcow, so that they did not dare to show devotion or care to father or to mother, to a bishop or to an ollav, or to a confessor, or to people who were ill or afflicted, or to an infant one night old; even if an Irishman had but one cow, the soup of her was forced to be given to the soldier, the night when milk could not be got from her, and an ounce of gold, or of silver, or of findruine as the royal rent for every year; and the man who had not the means (of paying it) had himself to go into slavery, or also his nose was cut off.

A compendious tract on some of the Fomorians and Lochlannachs who were for a very long time destroying

Erin. It is true that we have (already) traced each tribe of those who have seized upon Erin, according to their conquest, up to the present day. Now we shall mention the people who troubled Banba (i. e. Ireland), namely the Fomorians and Lochlannachs — according to different historical tracts —, whose pedigrees have not been traced, generation from generation up to Adam, such as those of the Gaedhels, the Tuatha De (Danann), the Firbolgs, Nemhed, Partholán etc., who inhabited Erin one after another, in the order in which their genealogies are found. The Fomorians and the Lochlannachs, however, used to plunder Fodla (i. e. Ireland) to and fro, taking with them all that they were able to carry away of its riches, so that the historians have not traced their consecutive history like that of those who were settled in this country. Notwithstanding this, we shall here put down the names of some of the most illustrious of them from various books. The Fomorians were the first who waged war against the country, in the time of Nemhed and his children; but still earlier Partolan gave battle to Ciogal the skinfooted in Sleamhna of Magh Ithe (as related in the Book on Partolan himself, p. 35). The Fomorians who are mentioned here were pirates from the sea, who used to come to contest the country, and nobody knows what other cause they had, but to exercise usurpation by force upon Erin. Gann and Sengann, two kings of the Fomorians, Conann son of Faobhar, and Morc (Morc son of Deala) were the most illustrious persons among the Fomorians at the time of Nemhed and his sons; we have never found a genealogy or a remnant of those Fomorians; for they were all destroyed by Nemhed and his sons, as we have related when describing the destruction of the Tower of Conang, pp. 38, 39. 40.

The same is the case with every colony of those who came to invade Erinn; we do not find a ramification of their pedigrees, worth reckoning. Among those here was Balair of the Mighty Blows who was high powerful over the Fomorians at the time of the Tuatha De Danann, so that by this Balair fell Nuadha of the Silver Hand, high-king of Erin, of the Tuatha De Danann (in the battle of Magh Tuireadh of the Fomorians). Though the oppression was great, and though the disturbances caused by the foreigners (who used to be called Fomorians and Lochlannachs) in Erin in that

way were frequent, it has not been told that they laid a holding in it for their descendants; for it was in those times that the Lochlannachs, or Danars, or Danmarkians very often used to come to destroy the kingdoms, until at last Brian Borumha and others of the nobles of Erin expelled them. Notwithstanding this, many of their descendants remained in Erin afterwards, as can be seen in certain tracts of an old book. Thus a passage of a certain book says: »whoever wishes to find a genealogical table or pedigree of the descendants of Old Iomhar of the Judgments, and of the Fair Lochlannachs, and of the Dark Lochlannachs, and of the battle of Magh na Berbhi, and of Maghnus of the Swift Ship, son of the king of Lochlann, he will find information about them in the great Book of Lecan Mic Fhirbisigh, as well as of some others of those, who came into Erin, viz. Clan Pii of the Islands, Clan Chapa, Clan Chuilen, and Amhlaibh of PortLairge, who was present in the battle of Clontarf, Sitric son of Gluniaran, and Amhlaibh Cuaran, who has descendants. And as for the greater part of the merchants in the city of Ath Cliath (i. e. Dublin) up to the present day, they are of the family of Amhlaibh Cuaran, and of the family of Sadhbh, daughter of Brian Borumha, who was his wife when the battle of Clontarf was fought.

Domhnall, son of Emhin, son of Caindech, high steward of Mar; he was of the race of Old Iomhar, and of the descendants of Leod of Arran. He came to Brian Borumha to help him to defend Erin against the mail-clad foreigners. Thus the race of this Amhlaoibh Cuaran in the town of Ath Cliath is opposing the Gaoidhels of Erin, etc.

Pedigree of Mac Leod:

Alexander,
Son of Gilla Coluim,
Son of Tormod,
Son of Ruaidhri,
Son of Niall,
Son of Gilla Christ,
Son of Tormod,
Son of Constantin,
Son of Lochlainn of Lewis,

Son of Loarn the pirate,
Son of Dulbh of Loch Abron,
Son of Iondulbh of the Orkneys,
Son of Sgandlan of Scone, son of Amhlaibh,
Son of Iomhar of the Scarlet Rock,
Son of Alpin,
Son of Malcolm Cennmor (i. e. Bighead),
Son of Comhgall, son of Siograd, son of Loarn,
Son of Bron Berbe,
Son of Leod, from whom is the Clan Leod,
Son of Lair (i. e. mare), and it is she who came of the fairy mansions in the shape of a mare, and bore th sons who had issue,
Son of Artur,
Son of Balar,
Son of Fergus,
Son of Fergall of the Land of Coldness,
Son of Noah, son of Dulbh,
Son of Ioldulbh, son of Alexander,
Son of Ned (from whom the O'Neds descend),
Son of Monach the great, from whom Dun Monaigh named,
Son of Balbuad of the Island of Tile,
Son of Gioda,
Son of Fomhra,
Son of Magnus of the swift ship,
Son of Aralt,
Son of Asmant,
Son of Old Iomhar the great of the judgments, fr whom the race of Old Iomhar in Alba, and in Erin, and the Lochlanns (i. e. the Scandinavian countries) is descend

Clan Chába:

Ruaidhri, son of Maghnus, son of Donnchad, son Enrigh, son of Gilla Christ, son of Flaithbertach, son of G Christ of the Round Spear, son of Alexander of Arran, of Tormod, who used to be called the son of Caba, son Constantin of the Island of Breatan, son of Lochlainn.

Another account says, that the high steward of Catt, Clan Orca, Clan Cruiner, and Clan Thorcadal in Alba are Lochlannachs.

A tract is an old book says thus: Of the race of Gregus, son of Gomer, son of Jafeth are the Galls, i. e. the Lochlannachs.[1])

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[1]) The translation of the last passage, which is taken from O' Donovan, is not quite certain; if it is right, *an Gallia* must be wrong instead of *na Gaill*. Perhaps also, that *Gallia* here means »Scandinavia«, and that it might be translated: . . . is in Gallia, i. e. Lochlannachs.

Notes.

1. *Fomhorach* (or *fomhor*), = »a sea-demon, a giant, a pirate«; see the introduction.

Lochlannach, i. e. a man from the Scandinavian countries, especially a Norwegian (from *Lochlann*, the Irish name of the Scandinavian countries, especially Norway); cf. A. Bugge, »Contributions of the History of the Norsemen in Ireland« I, and H. Zimmer (Deutsche Litteraturzeitung, June 1901).

The Irish writers distinguish between the »Fair Lochlannachs« (*Finnlochlannaigh*), i. e. Norwegians, and the »Dark Lochlannachs« (*Dubhlochlannaigh*), i. e. Danes. Thus Keating in his »History of Ireland« (paper copy in the library of Trinity College, Dublin) p. 136 says: *Gidedh asiád táinig an tan soin, dáin fir ón Dania .i. Denmarke, & as diobh ghairthior Dubhgeinnte, no Dubhlochlonnaigh is na seinlebruibh senchusa, & Finngeinnte, no Fionnlochlonnaigh do lucht na Noruegia* (For those foreigners who came at that time, were both from Dania, i. e. Denmark, — those who in old records are called Dark Gentiles or Dark Lochlannachs —, and Fair Gentiles or Fair Lochlannachs from the people of Norway).

Mac Firbis in his »Book of Pedigrees« (p. 364) says: Goirid scríbhne Gaoidheal Goill do Lochlanduibh: goirid bheos Dubhlochlannuigh do dhruing díobh, edhon, Duibhgeinte, ar na Danair ón Dania .i. Danmarg. Fionn-Lochlannaigh, edhon, Finngheinte .i. lucht na h-Ioruaighe, edhon, lucht na Norvegia (»The writings of the Irish call the Lochlannaigh by the name of Goill: they also call some of them Dubhlochlannaigh, i. e. black Gentiles,

which name was applied to the Danes of Dania, i. e. Denmark. Finnlochlannaigh, i. e. fair Gentiles, i. e. the people of Ioruaighe, i. e. the people of Norway«).

As suggested by Dr. Todd and H. Zimmer, the name *Ioruaighe*, which in the Book of Armagh and in other ancient MSS. occurs in the forms of *Hirota*, *Hiruath**), probably signifies the district of Hordaland in the western Norway (in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicles called *Hæreþaland*).

2. The list of the kings of Ireland during the time of the Viking invasions is probably taken from 'The War of the Gaedhil with the Gaill' (ch. III), where 18 or 16 kings are enumerated.

3. See 'War of the Gaedhil', ch. IV, where it is said that 416 of the foreigners were killed. This victory took place in the year 812.

Camus hUa Fathaidh was probably a place in the territory of Corca-Luighe, S. W. of the present county of Cork. *Inis Labhrainne* was probably the name of an island at the mouth of the river *Labrainne*, now Cashen river, in the county of Kerry. *Dairinis* must have been an island in or near the territory of the Eoghanachts of *Loch Léin* (now the Lake of Killarney). The Eoghanachts of Loch Lein were a tribe settled on the east of this lake, barony of Magunihy, county of Kerry.**)

4. Cf. 'War of the Gaedhil', ch. IX—XIV.

Tuirges or Turgeis is probably not, as supposed by Dr. Todd (p. LIII), the Celtic form of the name *Þorgils*, but, as suggested by Dr. Whitley Stokes, of the Norse name *Þorgestr*. On the other hand, the celebrated historian Snorre Sturlason mentions a viking chieftain of the name Thorgils, who is certainly identical with the Irish Turgeis. He tells us that Thorgils, the son of Harald Haarfager, was sent on an expedition to Scotland, Bretland, and Ireland with his brother Frode. They were the first of the Norwegians who took Dublin. Frode was poisoned

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*) Vita S. Patricii ex libro Armachano, ed. by Dr. E. Hogan, S. J., p. 83: *Ego sum macc maicc Cais maic Glas, qui fui subulcus Lugir righ Hirothæ.*

**) War of the Gaedhil, pp. XXXVI f.

there; and Thorgils, after a long reign, »fell into a snare of the Irish, and was killed« (Heimskringla, Haralds saga hins hárfagra, ch. 35). It is evident, however, as Dr. Todd remarks, that Thorgils could not have been the son of Harald Haarfager, and that Snorre has erred in placing him nearly a century too late. According to the unanimous testimony of the Irish Annals, it was in 837 or 838 that Dublin was first taken by the foreigners, and about the year 845 that Turgeis was drowned. But this is too early for any son of Harald Haarfager.

Otta, the wife of Tuirges, must have been a priestess (*hofgyðja*) as well as a sibyl (*vǫlva*).*)

Loch Ribh (now Lough Ree). An expansion of the Shannon between Athlone and Lanesborough.

Loch Uair, now Lough Owel, near Mullingar, county of Westmeath.

5. Mac Firbis has two corresponding lists of the principal chieftains who about 915—930 invaded Ireland. In the first list, he gives the names according to the territories invaded by the Norsemen. In the second list, the leaders of several of the viking fleets that came to Ireland are named. This second list has probably been taken from 'War of the Gaedhil' (ch. XXXVI). Professor Sophus Bugge has, however, proved that many of the names here occurring really belong to the catalogue of chieftains killed on the side of the Norsemen in the battle of Clontarf 1014 (War of the Gaedhil, ch. CXVII).**) Mac Firbis's first list has nothing corresponding in other Irish Annals, and it must have been taken from some MS. now lost. Most of the names are also found, but in a very corrupt form, in the annals of Clonmacnois (A. D. 830, p. 133): »Awus, Lir, Fatha, Turgesius, Imer, Dowgeann, Imer of Limbrick, Swanchean, Griffin a herauld, ffyn, Crioslagh, Albard Roe, Torbert O' Duffe, Tor, Wasbagh, Gotman, Allgot, Turkill, Trevan, Cossar, Crouantyne, Boyvinn, Beisson, the Red daughter, Tormyn mc Keilebaron, Robert Moylann, Walter English, Goshlyn, Tahamore, Brugh, &

*) As to the Norse priestesses, see A. Bugge 'Vikingerne', p. 45.

**) Norsk Sagafortælling og Sagaskrivning i Irland (publ. by Norsk historisk Tidsskrift) pp. 20—52.

Awley K. of Denmark & K. of the land in Ireland called Finngall, Oisill, and the sonnes of Imer, Ranell O' Hemer, Costy Hemer, Ottyre earle, and Altyre Duffe earle.«

The three first unintelligible names of this list are probably no real personal names, but a corruption of the place-name *Camus hua Fathaidh* or *Camas ó Fothaidh Tíre*. The names *Tahamore* and *Brugh* are likevise no real names, but Irish words, whose meaning the translator of the Annals of Clonmacnois has misunderstood. After the long enumeration of viking chieftains who invaded Ireland, Mac Firbis has: *Tangnattar tola murbhrucht*; cf. War of the Gaedhil, ch. XIII: *Tainic iarsin tola murbructa mor du gallaib inn Erind* »After this there came great sea-cast floods of foreigners into Erin«. The translator has understood the words *tola murbructa mor* as personal names and transformed them into Tahamore, Brugh.

Iomhar (i. e. the Norse *Ívarr*), who settled in Luimnech (i. e. Limerick), is the same as »Imar, grandson of Imar, chief king of the foreigners« who about 930 came to Limerick and founded a Norse (Norwegian or Danish) kingdom there (*War of the Gaedhil*, ch. XL).

Duibhgenn or *Dubhcend* is the son of the above mentioned king Imhar (War of the Gaedhil, pp. 48 and 98).*) The name *Dubhcenn* (Black-head) is a translation of the Norse *Svarthǫfuð*. One of the leaders of the auxilaries who came to the battle of Ross na Ríg is called *Sortadbud Sort ríg Súdiam*, i. e. *Svarthǫfuð Suartr*, king of the *Suðreyar* (i. e. the Hebrides). The episode, where Sortadbud and the other Norse names occur, is a late interpolation in the tale of Conchobar and the battle of Ross na Ríg, and contains memories of the vikings who came to king Sitric's assistance in the battle of Clontarf **) Is Sortadbud Sort identical with Dubhcenn, son of Ivar? In the middle of the 10th century there was a close connection between Limerick and the Hebrides.***)

*) *Duibhgenn* p. 98 is the same as *Dubhcend*, p. 48.

**) S. Bugge, Sagafortælling, pp. 5, 9.

***) Steenstrup, Normannerne III, p. 213.

Tuatmumhan (Thomond or 'North Munster') comprised the present county of Clare.

Suaincenn (*Swanchean* of the Annals of Clonmacnois) is probably the Irish form of *Sveinki*, a common Norwegian name in the Middle ages, and a diminutive of *Sveinn*.

Ui Conaill was the district inhabited by the Ui ConaillGabhra. It is now represented by the baronies of Upper and Lower Conello, co. Limerick.

Grifin (*Griffin*, in War of the Gaedhil) is a Welsh name (*Griffid*, *Griffinus*), which has probably been substituted for the unintelligible *Grisin*, the form given in Mac Firbis's second list. *Griss* (a pig) was in the Viking ages used as a personal name both in Denmark, Norway, and Iceland. The name *Grisin* is probably = *grisinn* (the pig). This chieftain does not seem to belong to the beginning of the 10th, but to the following century. He is mentioned among the chieftains killed in the battle of Clontarf (War of the Gaedhil, p. 206; Annals of Ulster 1013).

The Annals of Loch Cé call him *Grisine corad Pléimionnaibh* (a knight of the Flemings). If this epithet is right, he must have come from one of the Viking colonies of Flanders.*) — *Ciarraighe*, otherwise called Ciarraighe Luachra, is the present county of Kerry.

Aralt fionn (i. e. *Haraldr hviti*, Harold the fair) is perhaps identical with Aralt, one of the sons of Imar of Limerick. He was killed by Brian Borumha in 978 (War of the Gaedhil, ch. LXIV).**) *Ui Eathach* was the name of a Munster tribe seated on the S. W. shore of the county of Cork, round Bandon and Kinsale.

Crioslach is a name which I do not understand. There is an Irish word *crioslach*, which means »a limit, border, bosom« (O' Reilly). Mac Firbis mentions two vikings of this name: the one invades Waterford, the other Connaught. Corresponding to this, Mac Firbis's second

*) S. Bugge, Sagafortælling, p. 24; Steenstrup, Normannerne III, p. 157.

**) The Annals of Clonmacnois have misunderstood the two names Griffin and Aralt finn as: *Griffin a herauld*, *ffynn*, and take *finn* as a personal name.

list has: *loinges na cCriocslach* »the fleet of the Crioslachs«. The War of the Gaedhil knows only one of them, and calls him *Liagrislach*.

Port Lairge is the Irish name of Waterford; the latter name is derived from the Norse *Veðrafiǫrðr*.

Albard ruadh (= *Albord Roe* of the Annals of Clonmacnois). *Albard* is the Irish form of *Hallvarðr*, a very common Norwegian name. — *Sliabh Ardachaidh*, i. e. Slieve Ardagh, in the county of Tipperary.

Toirberd dubh (i. e. 'the black') is probably identical with *Torbend dubh*, who fought in the battle of Clontarf (War of the Gaedhil, p. 164).*) Both names are Irish forms of *Þorbjǫrn*, a very common Norse name. — *Aine Cliach*, now Knockany, in the county of Limerick.

The five following vikings are said to have invaded Connaught. *Tor* is probably an Irish form of the common Norse name *Þórir* (not *Þórðr*). The ordinary Irish form of this name, however, is *Tomrair*. The form *Tor* I have only found in the Book of Pedigrees, in the Saga of Cellachan of Cashel, where one of the brothers of the king of Dublin ca. 950 bears this name, and in a poem by Flann Mac Lonain († 918). This poem which was written to the memory of Eignechan mac Dalaigh, prince of Tyrconnell**) tells that Eignechan had three daughters, who were all married to Vikings, *Caithis Sgearrdha*, *Turgéis*, and *Gall-Tór*, (i. e. »the viking Thore«). Gall-Tór is probably identical with the viking of this name, who is mentioned by Mac Firbis.

Usban seems to be the Irish form of the Norse *húsbóndi* »master of the house«, used as a personal name in Finland. The Annals of Clonmacnois have on the same place as Usban the name *Wasbagh* which has probably been derived from a more ancient form **Usbagh*, i. e. the common Norwegian and Icelandic name *Úspakr*. The

*) A chieftain from the Hebrides is in the Annals of the Four Masters (A. D. 1209) called *Toirbheand mac righ Gallgaidel*, and in the Annals of Loch Cé (A. D. 1211) he is called »*Toirberd*, son of a Gall Gaedel«.

**) I only know this poem from a late paper copy in the Royal Irish Academy, Dublin, No. $\frac{23}{N.\ 7}$, p. 41.

Njal-Saga (ch. 155—157) mentions a viking of this name (Ospak). He was the brother of Broder who killed king Brian Borumha. Ospak refused to fight against »the good king Brian«. He came to Brian, took baptism, and fought on his side in the battle of Clontarf. The Irish accounts of the battle make no mention of Ospak, or of his conversion to Christianity; in other respects they are not inconsistent with the story as told in the saga. Is Ospak, the brother of Broder, identical with Wasbagh?

Gotmann is the Irish form of *Guðmundr*, a very common Norse name. Is he identical with Gudmund, son of Stegitan, who in 991 came to England in the company of Justin, and of Olav Tryggvason, the celebrated Norwegian king?*)

Allgot is probably the Swedish name *Algotr*, *Algutr*. In the year 1134 died a member of the reigning family of Waterford, called *Mac Gilla Maire Mic Allgort*, »the best of the foreigners who were in Ireland«. *Allgort* and *Allgot* are different forms of the same name. Was Allgort identical with, or a descendant of the viking Allgot?

The following six vikings are said to have invaded Ulster:

Turcuill Treabann is in the annals of Clonmacnois transformed into two persons: *Turkill*, *Trevan*. *Turcuill* is the usual Norse name *Þorkell*; this later form of the name *Þorketill* was not used in the 10th contury. *treabann* is probably a nickname, = *trébeinn* (i. e. wooden leg). A famous Norwegian viking, who about 870 went to the Hebrides, was called *Qnundr tréfótr*.**)

Cosair Crolian is the same as *Cossar*, *Crouantyne* of the Annals of Clonmacnois. Is he identical with *Cossa Nara*, who about 916 came with a fleet to Waterford (Gaedhil, ch. XXVI), and with *Cossewara*, who fell in the famous battle of Brunanburh, 937? The name is unintelligible.

*) Steenstrup, Normannerne III, p. 228.

**) Landnámabók, III, ch. 13—15.

Oitin is probably a slip of the pen, instead of *Oitir*, i. e. *Oitir dubh iarla*, who is also mentioned by Mac Firbis.

Buidbin is identical with *Buidne* in the second list. In »The War of the Gaedhil« (ch. XXXVI) he is called *Buidnin*. This name is probably the Irish form of the Norse *bóndinn* »the peasant«. *Bonde* was during the Middle ages a very common name in Denmark and Sweden as well as in Dublin and Limerick.

Bernin, mentioned by Mac Firbis in both lists, is in »The War of the Gaedhil« (ch. XXXVI) called *Birndin*. In a poem by Muiredach Albanach O' Daly (Royal Irish Academy $\frac{23}{C.\ 18}$), where the same chieftains as those mentioned in »The War of the Gaedhil« are enumerated, he is called *Birn**), the Irish form of *Biǫrn* (a bear), one of the most common Norse names. *Bernin* is probably the Irish form of *bjǫrninn*, »the bear«. Brian Borumha in one his early battles killed a Munster-viking called *Birnd* (War of the Gaedhil, ch. XLVI), who is perhaps identical with Bernin and Birndin.

An inghen ruadh, »the Red Maiden«, is also mentioned in War of the Gaedhil, ch. XXXVI and CXVII. Professor Steenstrup has written about her (»Normannerne«, I, pp. 19—22) and suggested that she is identical with the heroine *Rusila*, *Rusla*, who is mentioned by the Danish historian Saxo Grammaticus. Professor Bugge (»Norsk Sagafortælling«, pp. 36, 52) supposes that *an inghen ruadh* is a translation of a Norse name, **Ruðla*, **Roðla*. Among the chieftains, who came to help the Norsemen in the battle of Clontarf, were *Eon Barun, ocus Ricard, da mhac na h-Ingene Ruaidhe* (i. e. Eon Barun and Ricard, two sons of the Red Girl). The Norse form of this would have been **Ruðlu synir*, i. e. »the sons or descendants of **Roðla*«. Professor Sophus Bugge supposes that Roðla is no other than Rollon, the conqueror of Normandy, whose Anglo-Saxon name was *Rodla*. Because of the ending *-a* this name has been taken as a feminine, and the Irish have transformed the celebrated

*) Loingios mór iarla Oitir. cheithre fithid long a ttír
loingios Birn fá gnáth air tuinn. loingeas Breas loingeas Eachduinn

hero into a heroine. Besides. the names *Eon Barun* (i. e. John the Baron) and *Ricard* (Richard) distinctly point to Normandy. In the Royal Irish Academy there is a Paper MS. in 8vo $\left(\frac{23}{C.\ 18}\right)$, written in the later part of the 18th century by Michael O' Longan, sen. It mostly consists of poems; the transcriber, however, does not give the names of the original MSS. from which he has taken his copies. Among these poems there is, pp. 71—73, one, which has the heading: *Múireadhach Ó Dala .i. Múireadhach Albanach. cecenit.* Muiredhach Albanach O' Daly flourished between 1214 and 1240. O' Curry (Academy Catalogue, p. 450) calls the poem »this extemely curious, valuable and unique poem«. I have not been able to find any other copy. The poem is not mentioned in Dr. Abbot's Catalogue of the MSS. in the Trinity College Library, or in O' Curry's Manuscript Catalogue of the Irish MSS. in the British Museum. — It begins:

»*Aonar dhuit a Bhriain Bhanba*«, i. e. »Alone to you, o Brian of Banba!« The poem describes the battles and wars of king Brian Borumha, and mentions the principal viking chieftains who invaded Ireland. P. 72, l. 3 the poem continues*):

Loingeas mór na mna ruaidhe.
ba measa ná gach cuaine
duairc an phrímhghin tar muir malc.[a]
d'ingheanaibh míne macdacht[b]

Ria do rinne an cluiche[c] garbh
an diogailt go m-beidís marbh
do adhnadh[d] coinnle fá a c-cuim.
a síth[e] na n-inghean n-áluinn

*) The text itself seems to be very corrupt. But Professor Kuno Meyer has kindly revised it. To him I am indebted for the corrected text and for the greater part of the translation. The original text, when it differs from the revised, I give in notes.

a) Orig. has *mailc.* b) This line is in the orig. very corrupt and written: *dingeine mĩe* (or *inĩe*) *macacht.* c) Orig. hac *cluithe.* d) Orig. has *aghnadh.* e) Orig. has *hith.*

Coinnle do cuirthí 'sa sídh.[f]
do ádhnicc[g] iad ann ghach crích
ód cídís an lasair loinn.
Gaodhil ní budh hionchomhloinn.

Do chuaidh Brian a h-Eachtga áin
cheithre catha 'na chómhdháil
bail a mbiodh longphort na mna.
tangadar na taisgealta.

Do mharbh Murchadh an mnaoi ruaidh,[h]
fearr[i] an buadh sin ná[k] gach buaidh
gur cuir cuille tréna ceann.
a bhfiadhnaise[l] fhear nEireann.

Translation:

A great invasion of the red woman,
Who was worse than any host,
The first-born who came over the mighty sea.
To gentle young maidens,

Against them she practised the rough play,
In revenge, so that they died;
She used to light candles round their waists.
From the Sidh of the beautiful maidens

The candles, which used to be put in the Sidh,
Were lighted in every country.
Since the Gaedhils used to see the powerful flame,
They were not fit for combat.

Brian went from noble Eachtga,
With four battallions in his company,
To the place, where the camp of the woman was.
The portents came.

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f) Before *coinnle* the orig. has *na*, and after *cuirthí* it has *dhe*, which because of the metre must be removed. Orig. has *sasigh* instead of *'sa sidh*.
g) Orig. has *aghnicc*. h) Orig. has *ruaidhe*. i) Orig. has *fear*. k) Orig. has *nó*.
l) Orig. has *bhfiaghnaise*.

But Murchadh killed the red woman
— Better this victory than every victory —,
So that he put a stake through her head,
In the presence of the men of Erin.«

This poem makes the Red Woman (or Girl) a contemporary of king Brian Borumha, and lets his son Murchadh kill her in Sliabh Eachtga (now Slieve Aughty, in Galway), and on the same time it transforms her into a supernatural being. Her residence is called a »fairy mansion« (*sidh*), and it is said that the »portents« (*taisgealta*) came to help her. There can, however, be no doubt that *bean ruadh* is identical with *inghen ruadh*. Muiredach Albanach's poem is, in fact, only a poetical renarration of »The War of the Gaedhil with the Gaill«. The poem, immediately before the *bean ruadh*, mentions *longios mór iarla Oitir*, *longios Birn*, and other invasions into Ireland. I believe that among the vikings who invaded Ireland there has been a female warrior, called »the Red Maiden«. As to her cruelty, Saxo Grammaticus, who wrote about 1200, has a somewhat similar story (Saxo, lib. VII, p. 353, ed. Müller): *Ea tempestate Rətho, Ruthenorum pirata, patriam nostram rapina et crudelitatis injuriis profligabat. Cujus tam insignis atrocitas erat, ut, cæteris extremæ captorum nuditati parcentibus, hic etiam secretiores corporum partes tegminibus spoliare deforme non duceret. Unde graves adhuc immanesque rapinas Rəthoran cognominare solemus* « Is there a connection between *Rətho* (i. e. the red, the bloody) and the Red Maiden?

Her epithet *ruad* (red) is a translation of the Norse *rauðr* which in compositions also signifies »cruel, bloody«; *rauðarán* means a special kind of robbery, and *rauðavíkingr* means »a cruel, bloodthirsty viking«. Is *ruad* a translation of *rauðr*, in the sense of »cruel, bloody«?

Tormin mac Celi and *Eogan Barun* have in the Annals of Clonmacnois been transformed into one person, *Tormyn mc Keilebaron*. *Tormin* seems to be the Irish form of *Þormundr*. This ancient name does not occur in the Sagas, but is still in use in the south-western

Norway as well as in Denmark (Terman). The name is also found on a Danish Runic inscription. *Céle* is an Irish word, which means »a companion, associate; a spouse, husband or wife«. I should think that Cele as the name of the father of Tormin is a corruption of some Norse name (e. g. of *Ailchi*, the Irish form of *Helgi*). The Saga of Cellachan of Cashel (ch. 27 and 63) mentions two chieftains of the name *Tormun*. One of these is perhaps identical with Tormin mac Celi.

Tír Eoghain is the present county of Tyrone, in the north of Ireland.

The following chieftains are said to have invaded Leinster:

Eoghan Barun, i. e. John the Baron. The War of the Gaedhil mentions a chieftain of this name (*Eoan Barun*), who about 915 invaded Ireland, and another chieftain of the same name, who fell in the battle of Clontarf (*Eon Barun* and *Ricard*, the two sons of the Red Girl). A Norseman who is called with the christian name *Eoan*, i. e. *Jóann*, and who has the feudal title ot a baron cannot have invaded Ireland as early as about 915. John and his brother Richard have probably been Norman barons who, as so many other warriors from Normandy, Flanders and England, came to king Sitric's assistance in 1014.

Roibert Miolún has probably also been a Norman knight. *Roibert* is the Norman name *Robert*. Does *Miolún* mean »from Melun« (a town in the dept. of Seine et Marne, near Paris)? Is Roibert Miolún identical with the celebrated Robert le diable, who in 1026 succeeded his father Richard as duke of Normandy?

Ualtair Ainglis. *Ualtair* is the English name Walter (Ags. *Waldere*); *Ainglis* no doubt means »English«. Ualtair Ainglis has probably been a leader of the English auxiliaries in the battle of Clontarf, if he has not come to Ireland at a still later period.

Goisilin (*Goshlyn* in the Annals of Clonmacnois) is the same as *Goistilin Gall* who is mentioned as one of the Norse chieftains killed at Clontarf (War of the Gaedhil, p. 206). *Goisilin* is a common French and Romanic name, in mediæval times written *Gotselin*, *Gotsalin*, *Goscelin*, *Gozelin*, *Gozilin*. The epithet *Gall* is probably

used in the original meaning of this word, »a man from Gaul«, i. e. a Frenchman.

6. Cf. War of the Gaedhil, ch. XIII.
7. Cf. War of the Gaedhil, ch. XVI. *Boinn*, i. e. the river Boyne; *Life*, i. e. the river Liffey. *Nortmannach Normannach* probably means »a Norwegian« (*Norðmaðr*). This invasion took place about the year 845.
8. Cf. War of the Gaedhil, ch. XX, where it is said that the Danes killed 5000 Norwegians at Snamh Ergda (A. D. 851).
9. Cf. Wars of the Gaedhil, ch. XX. *Caisil na Righ* (C. of the Kings), now Cashel, the ancient capital of Munster.
10. Cf. War of the Gaedhil, ch. XXIII. *Amlaib* is the Norse *Óláfr*. He is mentioned by the Icelandic Sagas under the name of *Óláfr hvíti*.
11. Cf. War of the Gaedhil, ch. XXIV. *Oisill* is probably the Norse name *Eygisl* or *Auðgisl*. Cf. »Three Fragments», ed. by J. O' Donovan, p. 170.
12. Cf. War of the Gaedhil, the beginning of ch. XXV. This chapter has *la mac Amlaib* (with the son of Amlaib), and calls the other chieftain *Baraid*, *Barith*. Mac Firbis writes the name *Bairrīt*. This name is the Irish form of the Norse *Bárðr* (the usual form of the name in the Icelandic Sagas); but the original form was **Báfrøþr*; *Bairit* is derived from a medium form **Bárøþr*, which was probably the spoken form of the name at the end of the 9th century. In a poem in Landnámabók (II, 16) the form *Bároðr* occurs.
13. Cf. War of the Gaedhil, the end of ch. XXV, as it is found in the Book of Leinster (p. 232). Alba is the Celtic name of Scotland.
14. Cf. War of the Gaedhil, ch. XXVI, the beginning.
15. Cf. War of the Gaedhil, ch. XXVII.
16. This corresponds to War of the Gaedhil, ch. XXVIII. In ch. XXIX it is told, that *Ragnall* (i. e. Ragnvald) and *Oitir* (i. e. Ottar) were killed in Alba (A. D. 916).
17. Cf. War of the Gaedhil, ch. XXXI, where *Sitric* (i. e. *Sigtryggr*) is called »Sitriuc the blind, grandson of Imar«. *Ath Cliath* »the Ford of Hurdles« is the Irish name of Dublin.
18. Cf. War of the Gaedhil, ch. XXXII. This victory took place in 921.

9. Cf. War of the Gaedhil, ch. XXXV. *Oitir* is the Irish form of Óttarr, a common Norse name, which in Anglo-Saxon in rendered *Ohtere*. About this famous viking see Steenstrup, Normannerne III, 13 f.. 16 f., 161-

». This list has been taken from »The War of the Gaedhil« (ch. XXXVI), where nearly all the same chieftains are enumerated. *Oduind* is the genitive case of * *Odond*, *Odonn*, i. e. the Norse *Auðunn*. He is probably, as supposed by S. Bugge, identical with *Eodhond*, who was slain by Brian Borumha in one of his early battles, about the year 965. (War, p. 64):

»We killed Eodhond, -- fierce his valour,
With his forty heroes.«

Suatgair (the Irish form of *Suartgeirr*) is a chieftain, who actually belongs to the battle of Clontarf. Under the description of this battle he is mentioned by the Ulster Annals (A. D. 1013, Suartgair), the Annals of Loch Cé, and the Annals of Clonmacnois.

Lagmann (i. e. the Norse *lǫgmaðr*, used as a personal name by the royal family of the Isle of Man) is perharps identical with Lagmann who, according to the Saga of Cellachan of Cashel (ch. 53 and 53), was the chief of the Norsemen of Armagh ca. 950.

Erbalbh (in the genitive *Erbailbh*) is in the War of the Gaedhil called *Erulb*.

Erbalbh is the Norse *Jarpulfr*, and *Erulb* is the Norse *Herjulfr*. This viking was probably the ancestor *Donnchad ua hEruilb* who is mentioned as one of the four crown princes of the foreigners in 1014 (War of the Gaedhil, p. 164).

Toirberd ruadh (the red) is probably the same as *Toirberd dubh* of the first list.

Snimin is no doubt identical with *Suinin* who is mentioned as the father of one of the chieftains killed in the battle of Clontarf (*Sefraidh mac Suinin*). *Suinin* is the right form of the name, = *svínins*, the gen. of *suínit* »the swine«, used as a personal name.

Suainin, i. e. *sveininn* »the young man«. *Sveinn* was a very common personal name as well in Norway as in Denmark.

Barun is the same as Eoan Barun of the first list.

loinges miled Bua. milid is the genitive case of *mil*, a loanward from Lat. *miles*, in mediæval Lat. signifying »a knight«. *Bua* is the Irish form of the Norse name *Búi* »gen. *Búa*«. The names *Bági* and *Búi* sometimes change. One of the warriors of the amazon Rusla is by Saxo called *Bugo*. Is he identical with *Milidh Bua* who is mentioned together with the Red Girl (cf. S. Bugge, Sagafortælling, pp. 44 f)?

The other names of this list are mentioned in the notes to Mac Firbis's first list.

21. Cf. War of the Gaedhil, ch. XL. The names Imar and Dubhcenn are already mentioned. *Cuallaidh* is an Irish word signifying »a wild dog i. e. a wolf.«

Aralt is the Norse *Haraldr*.

22. Cf. War of the Gaedhil (ch. XL), and the saga of Cellachan of Cashel (ch. 3). These three descriptions of the oppression of the Norsemen must be based on a common source.*)

23. The Tuatha De Danann, the Firbolgs, and the legendary kings Nemhed and Partalon are well known and mentioned in all ancient tales about the colonisation of Ireland.

24. *Fodhla* is one of the ancient names of Ireland.

25. *Sleamhna of Magh Ithe* is the ancient name of a district near Lough Swilly, in the County of Donegal. This battle, the first that was fought in Ireland, took place, A. M. 2530 (Four Masters).

26. The Tower of Conang, where the Fomoriaos had fortified themselves, stood on Tor-mór, the eastern extremity of Tory Island, off the north coast of the County of Donegal. It was, according to the Four Masters, destroyed, A. M. 3066.

27. Balair is also mentioned by the Four Masters who tell that he killed Nuada of the Silver Hand (A. M. 3330).

28. Mac Firbis seems to confound the Fomorians and the Norsemen, and not to know that the Fomorians are legendary, but that the Scandinavian Vikings first came to Ireland in the year 795.

29. *Danair* is the Irish form of *Danir* 'Danes'.

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*) Cf. my notes to the edition of the Saga of Cellachan.

Danmairgigh, pl. of *Danmairgech* (*Danmarcach*), »a man from Denmark«.

30. *Sin Iomhar na m-breath*, i. e. »Old Ivar of the judgments«. The same epithet occurs in Mac Firbis's pedigree of the Mac Leods and in another pedigree of the same family, to which I later shall refer, printed by Mr. Skene from a Gaelic MS. in the Advocates' Library of Edinburgh. There were in Ireland two celebrated kings of the name *Iomhar* (= Ivar). One was king of Dublin and died A. D. 873 (Annals of Ulster, 872; Four Master 871, Fragments of Annals, p. 199, Chronicon Scotorum 873). The other was Ivar, grandson of Ivar, who about the year 930 came to Limerick, and who very often is mentioned in the War of the Gaedhil. Mac Firbis says that Old Ivar the great of the Judgments had descendants in Alba, in Erin and in the Scandinavian countries. In the Scandinavian countries during the Viking-Ages there lived two more or less legendary kings of the name Ivar, namely Ivar Vidfadme and Ivar Beinlaus, son of the celebrated Ragnar Lodbrok. It is possible that a confused memory of these kings is preserved in Great Old Ivar of the Judgments, whom Mac Firbis seems to regard as a kind of common ancestor of the Norsemen.

31. *Cath Muighe na Berbhi*, i. e. the battle of Magh na Berbhi. I do not know this battle. Berbha is the river Barrow in Leinster.

32. *Maghnus of the swift ship, son of the king of Norway*, cf. the Introduction.

33. The Great Book of Lecan is mentioned in the Introduction.

34. *Clann Pii of the Islands* (i. e. the Hebrides?); I am not able to identify this clan. The name is not Norse.

35. *Clann Chápa*, i. e. the Mac Cabes. O' Donovan in his notes says: »The family of Mac Cabe are now widely spread through the midland counties of Ireland, especially through Leitrim, Cavan, Monaghan and Meath, where they are remarkable for their xanthous complexions, their vivacity, and vigour. They are evidently a branch of the Mac Leods of Arran, and would appear to have migrated to Ireland in the fourteenth century«. The earliest mention of the name in the Irish Annals is in the year 1368, when Hugh Mac Cabe was slain.

36. *Clann Cuilen.* O' Donovan in his notes says: »This clan is unknown. The O' Coileans of Munster, and the O' Cuiluins of Leinster are Gaels.« One of the Norsemen of Dublin who fell in the battle of Glenmama, was Cuilen son of Echtigern (War of the Gaedhil, ch. LXXII, Annals of Tigernach, A. D. 998). Is he the ancestor of Clan Cuilen? — The name *Cuilen* is not Norse, but Irish.

Clan Cuilen is probably the same family which is mentioned by the Annals of Clonmacnois (A. D. 1377), under the name of *Clan Kullen.*

The Annals of Clonmacnois (A. D. 1299) tell that in Ireland in the 17th century there were several other families, who were of Scandinavian descent*): »The ffamilies of Dalamares, Ledwitches, ffraynes, and Cabyes are of the remant of the Danes that remaine in this Kingdome.« The Cabyes must be identical with the above mentioned family, Mac Cabe. The Delamares seem to have been an Anglo-Norman family. — Sir John Delamare was killed, A. D. 1299 (A. C.). — The first time the Fraynes are mentioned by the Annals is in the year 1421 (*Libned a Frene*, Four Masters V, p. 851). One family of this name was, according to O' Donovan in his notes to the Four Masters, seated in the parish of Tiscoffin, in the county of Kilkenny, and another at Browntown, in the same county, not far from New Ross. — The first time the Irish Annals make mention of the family of the Ledwiches is in the year 1466, when the Annals of the Four Masters (IV, p. 1016) give the name in the form *for Ludusachaibh*, dat. plur. of *Ledusach*, i. e. »a man from the island of Lewis«. The Irish name of this island is *Leodhus*, *Leoghus* (from the Norwegian *Liódhús*). — The name *Liódhús* has, I suppose, nothing to do with Clan Leod, of which a branch for centuries was holding Lewis.

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*) The only copy or version of the *Annals of Clonmacnois* known to be extant is an English translation made from the Irish in the year 1627, by Connla Mac Echagan, of Lismoyne, in the county of Westmeath, for his friend and kinsman, Torlogh Mac Cochlan, Lord of Delvin, in that county (O' Curry, MS. materials, p. 130).

37. *Amlaib of PortLairge* (or Waterford). The Irish accounts of the battle of Clontarf make no mention of a king of Waterford of this name. In »The War of the Gaedhil«, ch. CXVII, it is told that Goistilin Gall and Amund, son of Dubhcenn, the two kings of Port Lairge, fell in the battle. O' Donovan says that this Amlaib (i. e. *Olafr*) of Waterford is mentioned in the Annals of the Four Masters, A. D. 938, 944, 946, 951, and 968. But the king here mentioned is the celebrated king of Dublin, Olav Cuaran. Were the reigning family of Waterford at the time of the English conquest, the Mac Gillemories (*Mac Gilla Muire*), the descendants of this Amlaib of Waterford?

38. *Sitric mac Gluiniarain* is not known by the Annals. In Ireland at the time of the battle of Clontarf there were two princes of the name Sitric (i. e. *Sigtryggr*), namely Sitric, son of Amlaib Cuaran, king of Dublin, and Sitric, son of Imar, king of Waterford, who was slain in the year 1022. *Glúniarain* (»iron-knee«) is a translation of the Norse *Járnkné* (in the Irish Annals written *Iargna*), a common name in the reigning family of Dublin. — The earliest occurrence of the name is is in the year 850. — Amlaib Cuarán had a son of this name, who succeeded his father as lord of Dublin, but was killed in 990.*) His son was *Gillaciaran mac Glúiniaraind* who was slain in the battle of Clontarf (War of the Gaedhil, p. 164). Gilla-Ciarain was a christian Irish name, while Sitric was a pagan name. I suppose that Sitric, son of Gluniaran, in the baptism has got a new christian name, and that he is identical with Gilla-Ciarain, son of Gluniaran.

39. It is a mistake when Mac Firbis says that Amlaib Cuarán lived at the time of the battle of Clontarf, and that he was married to Sadb, the daughter of Brian Borumha. King Amlaib died in the year 980 on a pilgrimage to Iona. He was married to Gormflaith, who after his death (?) was married to king Brian. Amlaib's son Sitric, who was king of Dublin in 1014, was married to a daughter of Brian, but not to Sadb, who was married to Cian, son of Molloy.**) Mac Firbis probably makes this

*) Steenstrup, Normannerne III, 148.

**) Wars of the Gaedhil, p. CXL. n.

mistake, because king Sitric in The War of the Gaedhil (p. 119 and 191 n,) twice is called *Amlaib* instead of *mac Amlaib*, and because his wife is called *ben Amlaib* »the wife of Amlaib« instead of »the wife of the son of A.«.

The note that the greater part of the Dublin merchants at the time of Mac Firbis are the descendants of king Olav Cuaran is very interesting. It proves that the population of Dublin, even at that late period, had not quite forgotten its Norwegian descent (cf. Giraldus Cambrensis, Topographia Hiberniæ, ch. XLIII).

40. *Domhnall, son of Emhin*, was *mór-maor*, steward or chieftain, of the Eoghanachts of Magh-Gerginn, or Marr, in Scotland. He was on his father's side descended from Maine Leamhna, son of Conall Corc, of the race of Oilloll Ollum, who was also Brian's ancestor (War of the Gaedhil, p. CLXXVIII, n. 3). By his maternal descent only he was of the Mac Leods. Captein Thomas, in his paper »On the extirpetion of the Celts in the Hebrides« (Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, vol. XI), thinks that it is a mistake, when Mac Firbis speaks of the Mac Leods of Arran. There is, he says, no connection between the Mac Leods and the Island of Arran. The Four Masters, however, (A. D. 1594, 1595) mention Mac Leod of Ara (i e. Arran).

52. *The pedigree of Mac Leod.* The Mac Leods, one of the most ancient families of the Hebrides, were divided into two branches, the *Siol* (i. e. descendants of) *Tarquil*, holding Lewis for centuries, and the *Siol Tormod*, holding Harris and the western fiords of Skye, the latter unto this day. It is generally supposed that they are of Norse origin, and that they are descended from the ancient kings of Man and the Isles. The Scotch Historian, the late Mr. Skene, has written against this theory (Ulster Journal of Archæology, vol. 9, pp. 317—320), and tried to prove that the Mac Leods are pure Celts.

. . . . »In one of the Irish MSS. now deposited in the Advocates' library, Edinburgh, Mr. Skene says, there is a pedigree of the Campbells and Mac Leods, referring them to a common origin from the Nemedians, through Fergus Leithdearg, who is said to have led a colony of that tribe to Scotland. These pedigrees were

written about 1550, a century earlier than that of Mac Firbis, and were printed by me in the *Collectanea de Rebus Albanicis*.

The Campbells or Clan Cailin are deduced from Braodn, son of Fergus Leithdearg, son of Nemedius. Then follows the pedigree of the Mac Leods. The first six names have been carefully erased, probably by a partizan of one of the two great rival Mac Leod families, whose claims to the chiefship were disproved by it. The rest is as follows:

Genelach Mic Leod annso.
Mic Leod o. r.
Mic Oloir.
Mic Oib.
Mic Oilmoir.
Mic Iamhar og.
Mic Sin Iamhar.
Mic Sgoinne Sganlain
Mic Iamhar Atacliath.
Mic Connla.
Mic Conaill clannderg.
Mic Ceallach.
Mic Mardoid e. r. in mic L.
Mic Ceallach Catluanid.
Mic Culinan.
Mic Connla.
Mic Dergdian Sgotheg.
Mic Manuis oig.
Mic Magnuis na luinge luaithe.
Mic Magnuis aircon ise rogab IIII micam in leomhar.
Mic Iamhar uallach.
Mic Dergi.
Mis Arailt.
Mic Iamhar na mBreat.
Mic Ubhaidh.
Mic Arailt.
Mic Aspuig.
Mic Ceallach.
Mic Connla.
Mic Lamus.
Mic Lungbaird.

Mic Lamus.
Mic Arailt.
Mic Laigh laidere or. crich L.
Mic Fergus Leithderg.

But there is still older authority for the common descent of the Campbells and the Mac Leods from the Nemedians; for in a collection of MS. genealogies written in the year 1467, there is the usual pedigree of the Milesians, and at Sru son of Esru, the father of Eber Scuit, there is the following Sentence in Latin:

et frater ejus Seara a quo venit Nemedius, inter posteros ejus Mc Caillin moir et mic Leoid etc.«

Mr. Skene is right when he says that the pedigree which Mac Firbis gives »appears to bear evident marks of fabrication, and it is more like a *jeu d'ésprit* of some Senachaide than a pedigree seriously intended to be taken as authentic.« But exactly the same may be said as to the pedigree printed by Mr. Skene. The supposed ancestor of the Mac Leods, Fergus Leithderg, who belongs to the earliest Irish History, long before the introduction of Christianity, has e. g. a grandson of the name of *Aralt*, a Norse name that was never used by the Irish before the Viking ages. His son is *Lochlainn* (i. e. a Norseman). And a name like *Lungbard* (the Longobard) has never been used by an Irishman. Mr. Skene's text is on the whole very corrupt, partly unintelligible, and not to be relied upon. That I am right in saying this is best proved by the fact, that in the same MS. from which Mr. Skene has taken his first pedigree there is another, and completely different pedigree of the Mac Leods, which Mr. Skene also gives:

Clann Cristiona, ingene Mic Leoid, i. Murcad.
Mac Tormoid
Mac Leoid
Mac Gillemuire
Mac Raice
Mac Olbair Snoice

Mac Gillemuire. Ealga fholt-alainn, ingen Arailt mic Senmair rig Lochlainn maithair an Gillamuire sin [i. e. »Ealga (the Norse *Helga*) the fairhaired, daughter of

Aralt, son of Old Ivar, king of Lochlann, was the mother of this Gillamuire«].

This pedigree contains several errors. Thus *Senmair* is certainly an error for *SenImair* (Old Ivar). Besides, this is no real pedigree of the Mac Leods, but of the Morrisons (*Clan Mac Gillemhuire*) who were hereditary judges of Lewis (see a paper by the late Captain F. W. L. Thomas in the Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, vol. XII, p. 505).

In the Royal Irish Academy, Dublin, there is a paper MS. from the later part of the 18th century $\left(\frac{23}{\text{H. 1. e}}, \text{p. } 48\right)$, which contains another quite different pedigree of the Mac Leods. The last names of this pedigree corresponds with Mac Firbis's pedigree: *Mc Amhlaoibh*, *Mc Turcaill*, *Mc Arailt*, *Mc Asmainn*, *Mc Miair* (i. e. *Imair*), *Mc Torannaigh*, *Mc Airdrigh Lochlann* (i. e. the High-king of Lochlann, who is regarded as the ancestor of the sept).

The only way to decide, whether the Mac Leods are of Norse origin, is to find the etymology of the name itself, and to consult ancient and reliable historical documents. As it will be remembered, the Mac Leods are — or were — diveded into two branches, the *Siol Tarquil* and the *Siol Tormod*. Now, these two names are evidently the Norse names of *Þorkell* and *Þormóðr*. In his paper »On the Extirpation of the Celts in the Hebrides«, the late Captain Thomas mentions that according to the Saga of king Hakon Hakonsson of Norway (ch. 166—167) about the year 1230 on the Island of Skye there lived a Norse chieftain, Thorkel, son of Thormod. He was killed with his two sons; but the third, named Thormod, escaped. Captain Thomas supposes that we here have the ancestors of the two branches of the Mac Leods. The common ancestor of the Mac Leods, according to Mr. Thomas, was a chieftain *Liötulfr*, who lived in the Hebrides about the years 1130—1150 (Orkneyingsaga, ch. 78 and 100). Here I cannot agree with Mr. Thomas. Leod must be the Celtic form of the Norwegian name of *Liötr*, and not of *Liötulfr*. In the middle of the 12th century, according to the Sagas, there lived a man of

this name. He was from the Hebrides, and appears to have been a chieftain (*Liötr*, a companion of Arnfinn, the brother of Anakoll, a viking from the Hebrides; Orkneyingasaga, ch. 101). Is he the ancestor of the Mac Leods? Mr. Thomas says that the common tradition is to trace the origin of the Mac Leods from Leod, a son of Olav Svarti, who was king of Man and the Isles, and who died A. D. 1237, and the evidence is said to be in the »Chronicle of Man«. But no Leod is mentioned in this Chronicle, and consequently Mr. Thomas does not believe in this tradition. The Mac Leods themselves, however, seem already in the Middle Ages to have believed in their descent from the ancient kings of Man. In Iona, where so many kings and chieftains from the Western Islands are buried, there is a tombstone from the fifteenth century. The inscription is partly oblitterated; but the following words are clear: *Hic iacet . . . . . M'Leoid.* Below the inscription a galley with sails furled is engraved, (Antiquities of Iona, by H. D. Graham, plate XXII, fig. 2). There are a few other tombstones where a similar ship is represented, and the editor remarks: »The galley with sails furled marks a descendant of the ancient Norwegian kings of Man«.

At any rate, the names: Mac Leod, Siol Tarquil, and Siol Tormod, prove that the Mac Leods are of Norse origin.

42. Names as Alpin, Malcolm Cennmor, Dolbh, Indolbh etc., are taken from the list of Scottish kings.
43. This seems to refer to some ancient, now lost fairy tale.
44. *Artur*, i. e. the celebrated king of the Britons?
45. *Balar*, i. e. the Fomorian general of this name.
46. Is *Tile* an error for *Ile*, i. e. the Island of Islay?
47. *Aralt* is the Irish form of *Haraldr*.
48. *Asmant*, i. e. the Norse *Asmundr*.
49. *i Lochlonnuibh*, i. e. in the Scandinavian countries.
50. *Clann Chába*, i. e. the Mac Cabes; see n. 35. The name Tormod, which occurs in this pedigree, seems to show that the family is a branch of the Mac Leods.
51. *Murmor Catt*, certainly as O' Donovan suggests, means the Great Steward of Caithness in Scotland. Duncan,

Earl of Caithness, was about the year 880 married to a Norwegian lady Groa, the daughter of king Olav of Dublin (*Olafr hvíti*) and of his wife Aud, from whom many of the first Icelandic families were descended.

52. *Clann Orca*, i. e. the Inhabitants of the Orkneys, who were Norwegians.

53. *Clann Cruiner*, i. e. according to Mr. Skene, the Guns or Clan Gun, a Sutherland Clan, whose chief was hereditary Coroner or Crowner of Caithness. In his history of Sutherland, p. 91, Sir R. Gordon mentions a chief of this clan, called »William Mackames wich Cruner« and adds: »From this Cruner all this clann Gun are descended, and are after him called Clan Chruner.« *Cruiner* seems to be a Celtic name. *Gun* is possibly a corrupt form of the Norse name *Gunnarr*.

54. *Clan Thorcadail*, i. e. the Macquhorcadales of Phantellan, a small but ancient clan in Argyleshire. The name of this clan is derived from *Þorketill*.

55. *Gregus*, O' Donovan seems to understand this name as *Græcus*, »a Greek«; I do not know why.

56. *Gomer* was the son of Jafeth. This note on the origin of the Lochlannachs is a late fabrication. Else it seems as if Mac Firbis faithfully has followed the ancient MSS. without adding anything of his own.

Postscript.

I learn from a letter sent me by Professor Kuno Meyer that »the Red Maiden« is mentioned in a poem by *Broccan Cráibdech* (Book of Leinster, pp. 43 b.—44 a.). This curious poem enumerates the celebrated burial-places of Leinster, and gives many references to battles etc., e. g. to the battle of Islay (*Mag Íle*) where 5000 *Dubgaill* (Danes) were slain. The poem also mentions a woman *Aithbel*, the mother of *Ercol* (= Hercules!), and the wife of Midgra. Besides other exploits, Aithbel is said to have drowned the *Rúad-challech* in the River Barrow (p. 44 a, l. 18: Rachonaig *in* ruad challig rosbaid *for* lár Berba). The word *challech* signifies »a nun, an old woman«. The *Rúad-challech* is probably, as suggested by Dr. Kuno Meyer, identical with *ingen rúad* (the Red Maiden). If this conclusion is the right, it seems to show that the Red Maiden had already in the 11th century become a legendary personage.